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Church No. VIII, and uncovered a corner of the wall of some building, made of large roughly-cut stones, one of which measured 1.20 m. long, 70 cm. deep, and 40 cm. thick. They were only one course deep, however, and, after a few blocks in each side, became merged in a late wall of smaller stones. Some additional work was done in clearing out *Church No. I*, where a well was discovered, the brim being beneath the floor-level (about 6 m. deep and 1 wide), and also in sinking two small trenches at a spot which may have been the theatre. A flat piece of white marble (23 cm. high, 15 wide, and 5 thick) was found here with an inscription. Bad weather coming on, the expedition returned finally to Athens on March 13.

HENRY S. WASHINGTON.

Madrid, Spain;

April 22, 1890.

III. DESCRIPTION OF THE SITE AND WALLS OF PLATAIA.

The ancient city stood on a fan-shaped ridge or plateau, about 1.4 km. long, from north to south, and 1 km. in its greatest width, stretching down from the north slope of Mt. Kithairon toward the plain of the Oëroë. This plateau has its highest point at the southern end, where a shallow ravine, 50 m. wide at its narrowest point, separates it from the lower rocks of the mountain. From this point the plateau slopes down rather sharply at first, but toward the upper cross-wall very gently, the ground becoming almost level inside the lower cross-wall and rising again near its northern edge. In the northeast corner it is split by two small ravines, formed by a couple of little brooks running north. The question whether these existed in ancient times, will be considered below. The soil for the most part inside the walls is cultivated and fairly deep, at *Church No. V* bed-rock being reached at a depth of 3 m., and at *Church No. I* at about the same depth. In many places, however, especially to the west and south, the rock crops out, the soil being very thin. This is especially the case to the south of the north cross-wall, between it and the outer wall as far as *Church No. VII*, and to the north of it, about parallel with its general direction as far as the point *M* of the outer wall. In the northern, or lower, part no rock crops out except along the western wall, as far as the point *T*, and near the so-called votive cuttings. The rock is a coarse gray marble, much corroded into deep holes and

channels where exposed to the weather. All the walls are built of this rock, which forms the ridge of Kithairon to the south, and could be quarried either on the mountain slopes or on the plateau itself. The soil is a rather clayey lime earth, very loose when dry, but exceedingly clinging and sticky when wet—the mud making the plain of the Oëroë and Asopos almost, if not quite, impassable in winter.

The sides of the plateau are not precipitous and rocky, except at a few points. As a rule, they slope gently down to the plain below. The slope has, of course, been decreased during our era by the washing down of earth from the plateau above. It is probable that the sides were never high or precipitous enough to make good defenses *per se*, and that walls must always have been needed to make the plateau a tenable position.

The remaining walls appear to be assignable to five periods. The earliest is characterized by a polygonal style of masonry, though not of the earliest type. The blocks are of fairly uniform size, the form seldom hexagonal, quite often pentagonal, step-cutting common on the upper edge to fit the superincumbent stone, with joints very neatly made. This style is similar to the oldest part of the walls of Lepreon, in Arkadia. The portions of wall exhibiting this style are the worst preserved of all, the stones being much corroded and weatherworn.

The style of the second period—that most largely represented—is intermediate between the first and third. The walls of this period are better built than those of the former, with scarcely any polygonal blocks, but are not so well made as those of the latter period, to which, however, they bear a closer resemblance and for which they probably served as a model.

The third period or style comprises work which is much the best built as well as the best preserved. It is seen in the upper cross-wall, which is entirely of this period, and in the northeast corner. The blocks are larger than those of the first two periods, about 1 m. high, from 1 to 3 m. long, and about 60 cm. thick. They are four-sided, laid in horizontal courses, with the edges neatly and accurately fitted. The vertical joints are very commonly, in fact generally, not perpendicular, but slanting or oblique—never more than 20° off from the perpendicular, however. The adjoining block in almost every case fits closely, with the same slope, except in one or two instances where the slopes are opposite and a well-fitted wedge-shaped block is inserted. The separate courses do not run along continuously at the same level,

but, after varying distances (generally from 5 to 10 blocks) the upper course is lowered (or raised) by the upper side of the block below being cut into a step shape, the difference between the level of the two steps being only a few centimetres, never over five. The outer surface of the blocks, rather rounded or bulging, is cut vertically into wide and rather deep furrows or grooves. The whole is a very good piece of work, the blocks of good size, the joints accurate, and the workmanship everywhere careful.

The fourth period is represented only by the lower cross-wall. It can hardly be said to represent a distinct style, the wall being built of blocks from earlier walls (of the second and third periods), of building-blocks and of other architectural fragments, all of the common, coarse gray marble, no white marble being observed in this wall or in any other. The blocks are not used with much system or care, sometimes the furrowed side being out and as often not. The joints are not close, the blocks not having been recut after their removal from their original positions, and little pains having been taken in fitting them. Mortar and tiles were used at one time to fill up the crevices, as can still be seen in the third tower from the west; but whether or not this was subsequent to the building of the wall cannot be made out.

The last period, including the worst-built masonry of all, is represented by a few fragments and stretches of Roman, or more probably Byzantine, wall, built of rubble and tiles laid in mortar. It is seen only at a few scattered points on the north and west sides.

The walls of the first four periods are very uniformly 3.30 m. in thickness, very little variation from this figure having been noted anywhere. The outer facing is the better of the two, built of larger stones and better finished, but the difference is not great. In all the walls the space between the outer and inner faces was filled with smaller rough stones and earth. How the walls were finished on top, whether battlemented or not, cannot now be determined, nor can any calculation be made, from the *débris*, of the probable height, the fallen stones having been scattered all over and below the plateau, and having disappeared in various ways. In many places, notably at the northwest from *Q* to *S* and at the southwest from *C* to *H*, the wall could be traced only by the smoothing of the natural rock as a bed on which to lay the wall-stones. The rock was rather carefully cut away so as to present a level surface in many places, and several of the step-cuttings were observed in the native rock. At two points, *C*

and between *S* and *T*, the natural rock has been cut away so as to leave a smooth vertical fall.

In order to take up and describe *seriatim* the various parts of the city-walls, we will begin at the point *A*, the southwest corner, and proceed toward the north. This point is the highest and most southerly of the plateau, and from it may be had a fine view of the whole site and the plain of the Oëroë and Asopos rivers stretching away to the north toward Thebes, which is entirely hidden by a low range of hills separating the valleys of the two rivers. Behind us, and to the right and left, runs the ridge of Mt. Kithairon; to the northwest can be seen Mts. Helikon and Parnassos, and to the northeast the mountains of Euboia. A ravine, about 50 m. wide and about 5 m. deep, separates the plateau from the lowest point of the slope of Kithairon. This ravine was much deeper in former times, a great deal of earth having been washed down from the mountain, especially since the destruction to a great extent of the forest growth. It is wide and deep enough, however, to prevent any earth from being washed down from the mountain onto the plateau, and we may safely say that this part of the plateau has been steadily losing earth since it became uninhabited, and consequently for centuries diminishing in height.

There is little left of the wall above ground (merely one course of blocks, inside and out), but enough by which to determine the period, presumably the earliest. A tower, square in plan, 5.50 m. on each side, stood at the angle, and from this point the wall runs down the slope, toward the north, very well defined till it turns to the west near *Church No. VII*, and thence runs irregularly in a general northwesterly direction till it meets the upper cross-wall. All along this stretch, a single course above ground in a few places constitutes the best-preserved remains, the whole being of the first period. The wall has been traced, for the most part, by the rock-surfaces smoothed for the reception of the masonry. Along a great part of this stretch, notably from *C* to *G*, the wall runs along the edge of a rough and jagged rocky cliff, nearly vertical, but now only a few metres high. Below the point *D*, on the outside, there is a rectangular sarcophagus-like cavity cut in the rock.¹ The point of junction of this outer and older wall with the upper cross-wall cannot be clearly made out, but is probably not far from *H*.

¹ The two branches of the road from Kokla to Kriekouki cut this section of the wall, as shown on the MAP (PLATE XXIII).

We now turn toward the east and follow the upper cross-wall. This is by far the best built of all the walls; it is of the third period, and is in places in a very good state of preservation. It runs for 407 m. toward the southeast in a line almost straight, at one point making a bend of less than 2° and at another of 10° , and there turns to the northeast and runs toward *Church No. V*. The wall is everywhere 3.30 m. wide, both faces carefully finished (the outer one, that toward the south, the better) and the space between filled with rubble of earth and stones. The present height of the ruins varies greatly; at places they barely appear above ground, while at their highest point, the third tower from the west end, the structure is 3.80 m. above ground. Along the outer, *i. e.*, the southern, side of the wall there are remains of eight towers of rectangular plan, measuring 6.70 m. in length (*i. e.*, along the wall) and 5 m. in breadth. The variations are only a few centimetres either way from these averages. The towers are distant from one another 42.50 m., and form an integral part of the wall, not added to the outer face but built at the same time and continuously with it. The best-preserved example is the tower above mentioned, and it offers a few points of interest. The main courses rest on a foundation-wall, projecting 10 cm. beyond them, the blocks of which measure only 40 cm. high instead of 1 m., as in the courses above. This foundation is carefully worked with vertical or very slightly oblique joints, and furrowed facing. In this tower at present three courses of the foundation are above ground, while a similar foundation runs beneath the wall proper, though not visible at present, except at one or two points, owing to the accumulation of earth. The corners of the towers present a striking peculiarity. The rough, bulging sides have been cut in from both sides, so as to leave a sharp right-angled ridge along the vertical edge, finished smooth and clean. This right-angled ridge, which measures 10 cm. on each side, is carried along the whole angle of the tower and is continued in the foundation. It occurs in every tower on all the walls of the first three periods, its use in this upper cross-wall being probably copied from the older walls. The towers, as far as can be judged, were solid, filled up within, like the walls. Another peculiarity of the upper cross-wall (also occurring once in the extreme south wall) is that there are several "platforms," as they have been called, built on the inside of the wall. These are thickenings of the wall, about 10 m. long and 1 m. thick, and were probably buttresses to strengthen the main wall, though too

little is left of them to determine this definitely. At one place in the upper cross-wall two of these platforms occur, one on each side of a tower, while at another place one is found between two towers.

Returning to *H*, we continue toward the north along the western outer wall. The stretch *HI*, distinctly traceable, but not projecting much above ground, is of the second period; it is similar to the wall of the third period, that of the upper cross-wall, but is not so carefully built. It disappears at *I*, and the wall begins again at *K*, where there are traces of a square tower. A wall running east from this point was traced for some 50 m. The main wall, of the same masonry as *HI*, continues to the point *M*, where it makes a sharp angle, turns to the northwest, and thence to *N* is traceable mostly by rock-cutting. From *H* to near *M*, it runs along the edge of the plateau, the ground sloping down gently toward the plain. At *M* is a tower, and the wall from this point on to *N* overhangs a steep and rocky cliff, from 3 to 8 m. high. Inside the tower to the north of *M*, there run for a few metres the remains of an apparently polygonal wall, probably of the first period, as in the extreme southern part, but perhaps earlier still. Below the wall *MN*, perched on the rocks, are half a dozen sarcophagi, hewn in one piece out of the common, coarse gray marble, and separate from the rock on which they rest. The dimensions of the most northerly one are as follows: length (exterior) 2.40 m., width 1.20, height 1.25, thickness of sides, 0.20. These sarcophagi are surrounded at top and bottom by a simple moulding. The interior is sloping at the bottom. The monolithic cover of the sarcophagus measured lies further down the slope; it has the shape of a long, obtuse wedge. To the south of the sarcophagi lie some graves of less importance, hewn in the rock, in the shape of rectangular pits; all these are empty. Of two of the sarcophagi only halves remain, and all the covers with the one exception have disappeared. At a distance of 98 m. from *N*, there are traces of a path leading down through the wall and between the sarcophagi—very faint however. At *N* this wall disappears, though blocks are still scattered about the slope in large numbers, and many are built into field-walls below.

At *O*, begins the lower cross-wall, almost the latest of all. It is built entirely, as stated above, of blocks taken from other structures. The remains of seven towers, measuring 6.20 m. in length by 5.50 in width, are visible in its southern or outer side, joined to and forming part of the main wall, as in the upper cross-wall. The third tower

from the west end is the best-preserved, its extreme height being 3.85 m. The wall makes a rather sharp turn at Z' , and thence runs almost due north, with a few slight angles, for over 150 m., finally being lost amid a tangle of blocks and house-walls, which continue till within 50 m. or so of V . The wall runs throughout on almost level ground, and no traces of a gate appear. Below the point O , near the road, are 19 m. of the inner facing of a wall, built of large cut blocks, apparently of the second period. No connection could be made out between it and the main western wall, and it is probably all that remains of a wall figured in Stanhope's map, but of which all other traces are now lost. At P , there are scanty remains of a wall of the same period, half-way down the rather steep, earth-covered slope, and above this is a right angle, apparently a corner of a tower, built of small stones and mortar, while a little further north there is a large mass of the same material.

From O to Q the main wall is lost, but at this latter point we come upon rock-cuttings, and hence to R the line of the wall can be made out, in a straight line, by the leveling of the tops of the rocks for the reception of the blocks. All along this part of the west wall the side of the plateau is fairly steep and quite high, perhaps 15 m. above the road to Thebes. The slope, except toward the top, is not rocky, but of earth. Below the stretch QR , at two points appear short lengths of what at first sight looks like early polygonal masonry; but a closer examination shows that it is late work. The stones are very roughly fitted, and in one or two cases have apparently been taken from an early wall of cut blocks. One block shows a hole, apparently made for an iron anchor or clamp. Just below the point R is a grave-cutting.

From the point R , the northwest angle, till half-way between S and T , the wall remains are short lengths of rough wall made of small stones and tiles laid in mortar. No trace exists of an earlier wall except at S , where there are two pathways cut a few centimetres deep in the rock, meeting in the line of the wall at an obtuse angle, just outside which a large rock projects, its top cut away flat and level. This may have been a small gate where met two paths, coming up from below. A little to the west of T , the rock has been cut away perpendicularly for a few metres, the wall running along its edge. Hence to U , the wall, 3.30 m. thick, can be seen just above ground, and belongs apparently to the second period. The remains of one or

two towers can just be made out. From *U* to *V* the wall runs east, down hill. Very little is left of it, and that little is mainly of small, rough stones, without mortar—very late work. No trace could be found of the wall figured to the north of this by both Leake and Stanhope. 30 m. south of *V*, there are 4 m. of a wall running north and south, apparently of the same style as the lower cross-wall, and a continuation of it. But there are so many late house-walls in this region that this is not certain. At *V*, all traces disappear, and the next sight of the wall is at *W*, 234 m. to the northeast of *V*, on the east slope of the western valley. Hence the wall runs in a straight line about due east for 150 m., disappears where it formerly cut across the eastern valley and brook, reappears 50 m. further on, and thence runs 187 m. to the northeast angle of the plateau. This wall, though barely projecting above ground, can easily be seen, especially at its eastern end, where the outer or northern face projects a metre or more above the surface. It is built in almost exactly the style of the upper cross-wall, the oblique up-and-down joints, the step-cuts, the peculiar tower-angles, and the wider foundation being all present; the stones large, well-fitted, and with furrowed, bulging faces. From *X* westward to near the brook, the courses, though horizontal, descend step by step, following the gentle slope of the small ravine, thus proving that this ravine existed when the wall was built. As the valley to the west is the larger, we can infer, though there is no wall there to prove it, that it also existed at the same period. The slope down from all this stretch of wall (east of *V*) to the plain is gentle and entirely of earth. At the northeast angle, *X*, there was a round tower, about 10 m. in diameter. Only four such towers appear; there being one between *S* and *T*, on the north wall, and two on the east wall, to be noted later. This one at *X* is built in the same style as the rest of this part, but very little of it remains.

From *X*, the wall, fairly well preserved, and for some distance overgrown with bushes, runs due south, then turns a little toward the west and disappears near *A'*, just beyond a small ilex tree, some 5 m. high, the only tree on the plateau. All this stretch of wall is of the second period, not as well built as *WX*. Hence to near *Church No. V*, the wall can be traced running a little west of south, sometimes entirely destroyed, and again fairly well preserved. All the remains are of the second period. At *B'*, a wall, 2.80 m. thick, runs almost at a right angle for 27 m. down the slope toward the brook, here distant 35 m.

from the main wall. This offshoot-wall is of rougher and apparently late masonry. Inside the main wall, due west of *B'* at a distance of 17 m., are remains of a square building, measuring about 8 m. each way, with a small threshold—probably a late Byzantine structure. At *E'*, traces of a round tower can be made out. The slope down to the brook all along this east wall is very gentle, no rock crops out, and the soil is apparently deep. At *K'*, near *Church No. V*, all traces disappear, but at *L'* we make out a bit of wall, and hence trace it, at intervals, to *P'*. The only rock along all this stretch is a narrow ridge running from *L'* to *N'*, along the top of which the wall was built, as shown by the cuttings. At *O'* there are traces of a round tower. Too little remains of this stretch, south of *L'*, to determine its period; but it probably belongs to the first, that of the extreme southern part. At *P'*, both faces of the wall can be seen, and hence to *A* it is fairly preserved, though not high above the surface—less than a metre. It is all 3.30 m. through, and of the same period, the first, as that near *A*, described above. At a point 37 m. from *A*, there is a cutting in the wall—traces of what may have been a threshold. The slope to the south down into the small ravine which separates the wall from Mt. Kithairon is very gentle, though in one or two places the wall runs along rather steep rocks. At *P*, the wall is nearly 150 m. from the mountain slope, while at *A*, as stated above, it is only 50 m.

This completes the survey of the walls, and a few remarks may be made as to the area included within them. It seems probable, from the apparently greater age of the walls there and from its height above the rest of the plateau, that the extreme south end was the original acropolis. Search was made for an old north enclosing-wall, but no trace of such a wall was found. Such a wall probably existed near where the upper cross-wall now stands, but running more east and west. The plateau, as has been said, sloped down to the north, the northern half being comparatively level. The southwestern part is very rocky, the natural rock here jutting out in large rough masses, while the southeastern part is almost free from rock, except the ridge between *L'* and *N'*. The middle zone (between the north and south parts) is rocky on its western side, while to the east it is mostly good soil. The northern third is entirely free from projecting rocks except along its western and northwestern edges. Inside the lower cross-wall (to the north of it), and for a little distance to the east, the ground is entirely uncultivated, owing to the circum-

stance that it is covered with potsherds, broken tiles, and small stones, while to the east, on both sides of and between the two ravines, the soil is deep and fertile.

Apart from the ruined churches, there are few objects of interest above ground on the plateau. East of *D*, in the southwest, there is cut in the rock what is probably a threshold, facing west, 2 m. in length. Beyond this, to the east, there is a semicircular area in the rocks, some 15 to 20 m. across; and about 3 m. lower than this, to the north, there is a similar area. Both areas are level and apparently made by the hand of man. Southeast of *Church No. IV*, appear what are called on the map, "Votive Cuttings." These consist of seven or eight small rectangular holes or niches cut in the rock for the reception of votive or other tablets. To the south of them is a small level plateau, with some roughly hewn wall-stones. The wall to the east of *Church No. IV* is a very well built and preserved one of rubble and mortar. It is 32 m. long by 1.15 wide, and runs almost due north and south. To the south of this extends in the same line a series of eight square piers, 1.15 m. square, of the same materials, the first one distant 15.40 m. from the south end of the wall. The first seven piers are uniformly distant from one another 1.75 m., and from the spacing we judge that four are probably missing between the seventh and eighth remaining piers. No traces are left above ground of any wall to the south, but the broad level space to the east of the wall makes it seem probable that a large building, or some such feature as an agora, once existed here.

There are four springs and brooks in the immediate vicinity of the plateau, besides the two very small ones in the northeast part. One brook on the east side rises in a spring a short distance due south of *P'* and flows northerly along the whole east side, at a distance from the wall varying from 20 to 100 m. The brook on the west begins at a point southwest of the older wall, flows northwest, is joined by the water from Megale Brysis, below *O*, and thence flows to the northwest away from the city into the Oëroë. Some 250 m. to the east of the plateau is another spring called Kondati, where are two inscriptions and some architectural fragments. Between this and the brook to the east of the walls is a ridge on which are the ruins of a small church and a number of large hewn blocks.

On the whole plateau there is a remarkable lack of white marble. The pieces remaining are confined almost entirely to the ruined By-

zantine churches, *Churches Nos. I, IV, V, VII and VIII* being the richest in them. The greater number are Roman architectural pieces, architraves, capitals and bases, *etc.* There are some Greek slabs and other marbles, some with inscriptions, all built into the church-walls, and some reworked into Byzantine forms. A few fragments of white marble, small pieces of cut and sculptured work, are found on the ground on the northwest part; and to the east of *Church No. I* lies a portion of a Roman plain white marble column. The two springs of Megale Brysis to the west and of Kondati Brysis to the east have walls made of ancient fragments of white marble. All this marble is much like the Pentelic, but undoubtedly comes from a much nearer quarry.

I will close with a few remarks as to the different periods of settlement of the plateau. As already stated, it seems probable that the extreme southern end was the earliest citadel, if not the only part occupied before the time of the battle of Plataia. Then, later, a town was built lower down in the northern part (the upper citadel probably being abandoned), the upper cross-wall being built for its defense. This town very probably covered the whole of the plateau to the north of the wall. The apparently greater age of the walls to the east and west makes it seem likely, however, that the whole plateau was inhabited and fortified before the shrinkage within the upper cross-wall, which is probably of about the time of Alexander. At a much later date, in Byzantine times perhaps, the lower cross-wall was rather hastily and carelessly built to surround the much shrunken town. The fact that the ground inside this wall is deeply covered with tiles, *etc.*, and the number of house-walls, point to the conclusion that a densely populated town once occupied this part of the plateau. The great number of churches on and in the immediate vicinity of the plateau, ten in all, also tends to prove the same, and is a circumstance important in the later history of the place, and one which may explain the great scarcity of white marble, this probably having been burned to make mortar.

HENRY S. WASHINGTON.

Tarragona, Spain,
May 23, 1890.